

then part of the Alamogordo bombing range; now it is part of the larger White Sands missile range.

General Farrell spoke of the times, in the First World War, when, as a young lieutenant, he stood with a foot on the step, waiting to lead his men out of the trench into combat. "That," he said, "was nothing like what we have just been through."

He said that the end of the war was now near; perhaps, he added, the end of all such wars. What we had just been through was the explosion of the first atomic bomb. It had not been a dud.

At the base camp, I worked with General Groves on the technical results of the test for his report to Secretary Stimson in Potsdam; for him, for the President, probably for Churchill, perhaps for some talk with Stalin. Later, Vannevar Bush spoke with me; he knew that we hoped that our Government would take up with the Allied governments the future problems of the bomb, the future hope of collaboration and indeed the use of the bombs in the Pacific war. Bush told me that this had been decided. Nothing much like that was to happen; but neither of us then knew it.

In the morning air, most of us shared, clearly, with no grounds for confidence, the two hopes of which General Farrell spoke. For a year, with the imminent defeat of the Axis in Europe and the growing weakness of the Japanese in the Pacific, more and more we had thought of the peril and the hope that our work would bring to human history: the peril of these weapons and their almost inevitable vast increase; and the hope of limiting and avoiding war, and of new patterns and institutions of international co-operation, insight, and understanding.

AN ANGRY JAPANESE

There was no such simple sense 3 weeks later, with the use of the bombs in Japan and the end of the war, marked by this final cruel slaughter. Much has been written on the wisdom of those actions, and on imagined alternatives. I would not add again to this debate, but would make one comment.

In Hiroshima in August 1945, there was a hospital for postal and telegraphic workers. Day by day, Dr. Hachiya, who was in charge of it, kept a diary. He was himself hurt by the explosion, but managed to get back to his hospital. He wrote of the dying who came there, the burned and the mutilated, and of the sickness, not at first clear to him, caused by radiation; often the injured recovered, and others, not seemingly hurt at all, sickened and died.

There is no outrage or anger in these pages. But in one entry Dr. Hachiya is angry: he had heard the rumor of an Imperial rescript in which the Emperor asked the Japanese Government to end the war. It was not only the generals and the Kamikaze who were determined to fight to the death.

If we should speak of regret, we should remember that these considerations, looking to the end of the war and toward the future, were not those that led to the initiation of serious work on the bomb. Already in 1933, in this country, Szilard, with help from Wigner and with the support of Einstein, indicated to our Government the possible importance of the uranium project, its possible military use.

In England, Peleris and Frisch, like their American colleagues refugees from tyranny, addressed similar pleas to the Government of the United Kingdom. Peleris' work had a clarity and firmness of program at the time unmatched in this country. He thought that he knew how to make a bomb; he was quite sure that it would work.

It was not until the autumn of 1941 that

serious consideration was given here to making a bomb; it was not until then that the British had seen that our help was needed and that they could not go it alone. Then, just before Pearl Harbor, with El Alamein and Stalingrad still a year away and the defeat of the Axis far from assured, we did get to work. I think it a valid ground for regret that those 2 years were lost, 2 years of slaughter, degradation, and despair.

THE MOOD OF HOPE

The last two decades have been shadowed by danger, ever changing, never really receding. Looking to the future, I see again no ground for confidence; but I do see hope.

The mood of hope is not as bright today as 2 years ago. Then, after the crisis in Cuba, President Kennedy spoke at American University and Pope John XXIII wrote his "Pacem in Terris," giving the noblest and most rounded expression of what we vaguely thought 20 years earlier in the desert.

But it is not the mood of hope, but hope itself, that is part of our life, and thus part of our duty. We are engaged in this great enterprise of our time, testing whether men can both preserve and enlarge life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and live without war as the great arbiter of history.

This we knew early in the morning of July 16, 20 years ago.

VIETNAM

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, it is apparent from developments in the past 72 hours that the Congress and the people of the United States will shortly be confronted with new decisions respecting Vietnam.

President Johnson spoke Tuesday of new and serious decisions in the making, and the Secretary of Defense intimated Wednesday that these decisions would be forthcoming upon his return from Saigon next week.

All indications point to requests by the President for additional defense appropriations and—more importantly—specific legislative authority to call up a large number of reservists and to extend the terms of service of members of the Active Forces.

These are grave steps for the country and will affect directly the lives and families of thousands of our citizens.

The stage is thus being set for congressional and public review of the course of the war in Vietnam, the deepening involvement of the United States in that war, and the assumptions upon which the administration is proceeding with respect to our proclaimed goal of a peaceful settlement.

I have taken the position that, so long as our military operations remain compatible with our stated objective of negotiations, there has been no real alternative to our present course—and I have supported that course.

Now that we are to be asked, in all probability, for a fresh mandate, we shall look to the President to give us a full account both of the existing situation in Vietnam and of his administration's aims. We, in the Congress, must and will examine his proposals with the utmost care and deliberation.

LLM

BIG BROTHER: SNOOPING BY INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE

Mr. LONG of Missouri. Mr. President, during the past few days, the Subcom-

mittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure has been holding hearings on snooping techniques of the Internal Revenue Service.

Although I am becoming hardened at the revelations made by Federal officials when put under oath on this subject, even I was appalled at the confirmation of some of the items that our staff had found.

Frankly, when my staff counsel first told me that IRS had permanent bugs and secret cameras planted in its own conference rooms, I was very skeptical.

My skepticism turned out to be misplaced as Mr. Sheldon Cohen, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, admitted under oath to such bugged rooms on IRS premises in such widely scattered places as Baltimore, Kansas City, Alexandria, Va., and New York City.

When I was told that IRS in Pittsburgh used a disguised telephone company truck to look inconspicuous when they went on wiretapping expeditions, I was even more skeptical; after all, IRS had banned all wiretapping for years.

Again, I was wrong, IRS had such a truck and used it for just such illegal purposes.

The revelations went on and on.

Next Monday we will begin 3 days of hearings on the situation in the Boston area.

At this time, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print at this point in the Record several news stories outlining what we found in Pittsburgh.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, July 14, 1965]

WITNESS SAYS IRS HEADQUARTERS HELPED IN PITTSBURGH WIRETAP—WASHINGTON SENT EQUIPMENT, EXPERT, SENATORS ARE TOLD
 (By James C. Millstone, a Washington correspondent of the Post-Dispatch)

WASHINGTON, July 14.—Internal Revenue Service headquarters in Washington sent equipment and an expert technician to install two wiretaps in the Pittsburgh area, congressional investigators were told today.

Cresson O. Davis, Chief of the IRS Intelligence Division in Pittsburgh, gave the testimony at a hearing by the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, headed by Senator EDWARD V. LONG, Democrat, of Missouri. The subcommittee is devoting its attention currently to IRS practices.

Davis said that he had a part in authorizing both wiretaps although he knew such action was against IRS regulations. Both cases, he said, involved investigations of organized crime operations.

He said that he knew of two instances in which Pittsburgh IRS agents used hidden microphones to record conversations with persons not involved in organized crime. Both were efforts to obtain evidence about falsified tax returns, Davis said.

When LONG asked whether it was IRS procedure to ignore constitutional rights of citizens, Davis said that the use of microphones "was not invasion of their rights as I understand it." LONG said, "That is a debatable question."

Davis said his instructions from IRS Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen on protecting the names of certain individuals from public exposure prohibited him from answering. He had declined to answer previous questions for the same reason.

* Arthur Compton, Fermi, Lawrence, and Oppenheimer, the scientific panel to the Secretary of War's Interim Committee on Atomic Problems.

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Long said Davis' refusal was "blocking our investigation" and questioned whether Cohen "is authorized to do that" through his orders to witnesses. Long recessed the hearing until later in the day and asked that Cohen be recalled for questioning. The IRS Commissioner and Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach testified yesterday.

TAPPED BOOKIE PHONES

Davis, flanked by two attorneys, said the wiretaps he authorized were set up in 1961 and 1964. The first was at an establishment in Wheeling, W. Va., that he said was "book-keeping headquarters of a nationwide (gambling) syndicate."

A tap was placed on a bank of 8 to 10 telephones in an effort to determine whether the Mannarino gambling operation in Pittsburgh was laying off bets there, Davis said. Agents listened at a nearby location and recorded conversations from the telephone lines, he said.

After a few days they detected no connection between the Wheeling and Pittsburgh operations and turned over the information to the West Virginia IRS office, he said.

The second tap was placed in the greater Pittsburgh area in an effort to learn of pick-up points in the city's number rackets, Davis said. However, he refused to say whose telephone was tapped or where the listening post was, contending that the answers would violate Cohen's instructions.

TECHNICIAN INSTALLED TAP

In both cases, Davis testified, he called the Washington office and requested the wiretap equipment. Both times, a technician took the equipment to Pittsburgh and installed it, he said.

Asked whether he had any hesitancy about calling Washington on the subject, because wiretapping was against IRS regulations, Davis said:

"I knew there were people in the Washington office experienced technically in such matters."

Long expressed astonishment that wiretap equipment would be kept in Washington.

"Well, that's where we got it," Davis replied.

"Was there a general understanding that you could violate wiretap regulations whenever you wanted to?" Long asked.

"No, sir," Davis responded, "only under the most extreme circumstances."

TALKS OF CRIME DRIVE

He described those as cases in the campaign against organized crime in which information could not be obtained in any other way and in which potential witnesses were too terrified to talk.

Davis disclosed that IRS agents were being trained in use of wiretapping equipment, explaining:

"Training in such matters is a defense against the opposition. The racket element also is engaged in this activity, and they are not bound by these rules."

"I once was told that my phone was tapped. I don't know if it was or not. I had it checked darn quick and it wasn't then."

On the subject of hidden microphones, Davis said that such equipment was carried by Pittsburgh IRS agents when they had information they were to be the victims of a frame attempt by racket or police elements, or when agents could be exposed to danger.

USE IN ORDINARY CASES

Long asked whether a hidden transmitter ever was used to record conversations of "ordinary people," observing that IRS should not "use organized crime as the justification for any surveillance they want to use."

"I know of two instances where we attempted to record conversations with individuals not in the organized crime drive," Davis said. "We felt it was the one means

of obtaining evidence about falsified returns."

The testimony foundered when Long asked, "Can you tell us about a tap you ran into your own basement?"

Davis declined to answer, then consulted with his attorneys. He said he never listened to a tap set in his home, but he refused repeated questions by Long as to whether the equipment was established there.

Joseph McCarthy, Davis' private attorney, told Long that the question involved delicate matters and that by answering it and other questions about particular investigations, Davis might jeopardize his own job as well as the reputations of others.

One witness late yesterday told the subcommittee that he learned accidentally that a conference room used by IRS agents in Pittsburgh to interrogate taxpayers was equipped with a hidden two-way mirror.

Robert J. Arnold, a certified public accountant, said he was in the room with a client when someone knocked down a picture of the Statue of Liberty with an American flag superimposed. Behind the picture was a two-way mirror, he said. From the conference room, the device looked like a mirror; from the other side, however, agents were able to observe the room.

Arnold said he had heard there was a microphone concealed in the room but did not see it. Fensterwald interjected that the microphone was concealed in the wall. He said that on occasion IRS used a framed picture of its seal to cover concealed microphones and two-way mirrors.

Commissioner Cohen acknowledged earlier that two-way mirrors and hidden microphones were used in some IRS offices. He said that although present laws permit use of those devices, criticism of such tactics outweighed the benefits to IRS, and he had ordered them abandoned.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, July 15, 1965]

PROBES DEMAND DATA ON BUGGING BY IRS (By Philip Shandler)

Internal Revenue Service Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen today faced a challenge to either let Senate probes see confidential affidavits given him by undercover agents or make a command appearance himself.

The choice was posed yesterday by Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri, as his Judiciary Subcommittee ended the second day of hearings on IRS activities in the Pittsburgh area.

Two special agents and the head of the Intelligence Division in Pittsburgh provided new details of wiretapping and other snooping activities.

But they refused to supply names and places Long considers essential to a thorough investigation. And they raised new questions with testimony indicating that:

The Washington headquarters has been teaching wiretapping and supplying wiretap equipment to its field offices despite a long-standing regulation against wiretapping. Cohen said Tuesday that he had only recently learned of wiretapping by agents in Pittsburgh.

U.S. tax agents in Pennsylvania have ignored laws against wiretapping and breaking and entering in their zeal to obtain information about suspected lawbreakers in the fields of gambling and vice.

Pittsburgh agents have "bugged" rooms that could yield personal information about "ordinary citizens" as well as about possible racketeers.

1961 CASE CITED

The Pittsburgh Intelligence chief, Cresson O. Davis, told Long the national office in 1961 sent Special Agent Burke Yung to help install a telephone tap in Wheeling, W. Va., during an investigation of a possible "layoff"

operation for gamblers in New Kensington, Pa.

"Why do they have experts in wiretapping if they have a regulation against it?" Long asked.

"I'm not qualified to say," Davis replied.

Yung also brought the equipment used in the tapping of three telephone lines last year, Davis said, when his office was probing reputed attempts to extort money from numbers racketeers.

Davis refused, however, to give Long the name of the person whose lines were tapped.

"Is he a policeman by the name of McDonald?" asked Subcommittee Counsel Bernard Fensterwald, Jr.

Davis said he could not answer because a directive issued by Cohen on Monday barred testimony that could jeopardize the rights or security of agents or citizens not previously named in proceedings of record.

Long at that point unexpectedly recessed the hearing and summoned Cohen to appear. When the afternoon session opened he announced that an understanding had been reached, and that Davis would testify more fully. But the afternoon testimony moved the Senator to call for elaboration today.

SECRET MICROPHONE

Long wanted to know, for example, why a secret microphone installed in a revenue service office in Pittsburgh in 1961 could not be used to overhear conversations between a taxpayer and his counsel.

"We've never done that," Davis said. "We have never used it for ordinary citizens."

But he acknowledged that the room was used to question ordinary citizens and criminal suspects alike.

Long was even more struck by agents' description of how the law office of the late Vincent Massock, of Washington, Pa., was "hugged." Massock was suspected of having connections with the Cosa Nostra, Davis said.

Special Agent Jack Schwartz testified that he got a passkey from the building superintendent on the pretense of wanting to get into another office which the IRS had rented.

He made a "fast impression" of the key in clay, had a copy made, used it to enter the office at night and—again with the help of agents from Washington—attached a small microphone to a bookcase.

ADMITS VIOLATIONS

Schwartz acknowledged that he had violated both the State law against wiretapping and the breaking-and-entering statutes. But he declared:

"Those of us in the organized crime drive felt proud to be in it. Anything that would have been asked, I would have done it."

Ironically, the bug fell face down and was swamped with noise from Muzak and an air conditioner, Schwartz said. About 2 weeks later, agents again entered the office to remove it, he said.

The two agents' testimony aroused Senator Hugh Scott, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who is a member of the parent Senate Judiciary Committee.

"How do you justify violating the constitutional rights of a person and the attorney-client relationship?" he asked.

Davis replied that any "incidental" information picked up by the microphone would not have been used.

The two agents, as well as Special Agent William D. Marsh and a clerk from the Pittsburgh office, Dante Amobile, described the wiretap use of a truck painted to look like a telephone-repair vehicle.

According to their testimony, a discarded Bell Telephone Co. truck was bought from a used car dealer with \$300 supplied by the national office. The 1-ton vehicle was originally obtained for surveillance, but last year was used once in wiretapping.

In that case, a wireless bug was attached to a telephone line leading to an unidentified

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person's home. The messages overheard were recorded at Davis' home, he said. The bugging was in connection with the investigation of Lawrence Maloney, a Pittsburgh police official recently acquitted of tax evasion, Davis said.

Davis said he "bad heard" of two similar trucks being used by the IRS elsewhere.

And he testified that before the truck was used in the Pittsburgh wiretapping it was borrowed by the Philadelphia office for an undisclosed purpose. Long said all this indicated to him that wiretapping has been more prevalent than the top officials have admitted.

Marsh refused to say who gave him the technical information needed to know which lines to tap.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 15, 1965]

MAIL COVERS AND WIRETAPS: AN ADMISSION BY TAX CHIEF

(By Dom Bonafede)

WASHINGTON.—The Nation's chief tax collector testified yesterday that the Internal Revenue Service has used mail covers, two-way mirrors, and wiretaps in the course of criminal investigations. Some of the devices are still being employed, he acknowledged.

The official, IRS Commissioner Sheldon S. Cohen, confirmed in an appearance before the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practice that agents of the Pittsburgh tax office used a second-hand telephone company truck from which to install phone-bugging devices.

He said the intelligence section of the Pittsburgh office purchased the truck from a used-car dealer for \$300. The truck, he said, is still being used by the office, but plans are underway to get rid of it.

A CLASH

In a tense colloquy with Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri, subcommittee chairman, Mr. Cohen refused to reveal who had authorized the purchase and use of the truck or disclose the names of agents who used electronic eavesdropping devices.

"You want me to bring every agent assigned to Pittsburgh since 1961 down here? We are prepared to do it," snapped Senator Long.

"You know who they are because you called them to testify tomorrow" (Wednesday), the Commissioner replied.

He told the subcommittee that the investigating practices under question were used only in drives against organized crime, and that he had ordered a crackdown against the illegal use of wiretaps.

Mr. Cohen said that the IRS was conducting its own investigation, and that it was against the law to divulge confidential information about suspected taxpayers or revenue agents accused of bribes.

"I am not going to hold any individuals up to public ridicule," he said. He cited four instances in which wiretaps were used by Pittsburgh agents during investigations of bigtime racketeers and gangsters.

The agents, he said, acted overzealously in the pursuit of justice and may "overstepped prescribed bounds."

Senator Long questioned whether the Pittsburgh agents used the mock telephone truck on only four occasions in view "of all the trouble" they went through to obtain it and put it in operation.

He observed that even though the snooping techniques were reportedly used against suspected racketeers, their rights were violated, nonetheless.

Mr. Cohen conceded that two-way mirrors had been used by IRS agents in New York's Manhattan and Brooklyn offices, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Montgomery, Ala., Alexandria, Va., and Kansas City.

They were mostly used, he said, to allow witnesses to identify suspected tax violators without being seen.

"They (the offices) were bugged, also?" inquired Senator Long. Mr. Cohen said he did not know.

Senator Long then ordered that a yellow boxlike instrument with roll of tape attached be demonstrated. He explained that the device called a Penn Register, is used to record on tape the numbers dialed on nearby telephones.

[From the New York Times, July 15, 1965]
REVENUE SERVICE CONDUCTED SCHOOLS IN WIRETAPPING, AID TELLS SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE

(By Fred P. Graham)

WASHINGTON, July 14.—The Internal Revenue Service taught wiretapping techniques to agents, and supplied experts from Washington to help tap wires, despite service regulations against wiretapping, a revenue intelligence chief testified today.

Cresson O. Davis, head of the Service's intelligence division in Pittsburgh, told a Senate subcommittee there was a widespread word-of-mouth understanding among agents that although wiretaps were illegal and against regulations, national revenue officials approved of their use against racketeers.

"They conducted schools in Washington where our agents were taught to wiretap, to plant microphones, and so forth. It was my understanding that it was the proper practice," Mr. Davis said.

He testified before the Judiciary Subcommittee on Administrative Practice and Procedure, headed by Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri.

PITTSBURGH INCIDENTS

According to Mr. Davis' testimony, high officials in the Revenue Service were knowing participants in at least two illegal wiretaps in the Pittsburgh area.

He recalled telephoning Robert A. Manz, assistant director of the intelligence division in Washington, and two members of his staff, Steve Baier and Joseph Harmon, when he wished to tap the telephone wires of suspected racketeers in 1961 and 1964.

On both occasions Burke Yung, an electronics specialist in intelligence headquarters in Washington, brought the equipment to Pittsburgh and helped make the tap, Mr. Davis testified.

Mr. Davis said the Washington office also provided funds for the purchase of a wiretap truck that was disguised as a telephone company vehicle.

Revenue agents would disguise themselves as telephone workers and use the truck to tap telephone lines, he said.

One tap ran to the den of his house, where agents recorded telephone conversations on three different lines for about 4 months, he said.

BANNED BY STATE

Pennsylvania law prohibits wiretapping by any law enforcement officers, including Federal agents, but Mr. Davis said he did not know this until recently.

Under Federal law, wiretaps are not considered illegal unless the conversations are disclosed by the agents, but information obtained through the use of wiretaps cannot be admitted as evidence in State or Federal trials.

Mr. Davis said Washington also provided his office with miniature transmitter and recording sets that can be concealed in a briefcase. He said these had been used occasionally to secretly record conversations with taxpayers who were not racketeers.

Mr. Davis also told of a bizarre result in the Federal drive against organized crime in Pittsburgh. He indicated that the Government's activities had helped the national

gambling syndicate to take over at the expense of local gamblers.

In 1964, he said, local gamblers complained to him that Pittsburgh policemen were forcing them to pay a percentage of their gross receipts in return for keeping the national syndicate out of the area.

The Revenue Service tapped the telephone of Pittsburgh's police chief, Lawrence Maloney, and later charged him with income tax evasion as leader of the extortion ring, Mr. Davis said.

Mr. Maloney was acquitted of the charges last month but was dismissed by the city as a result of some of the disclosures. Five of the gamblers however, have been convicted of tax violations.

"The police used to control local gambling. They protected the locals and kept the syndicate out," Mr. Davis said. "Now the syndicate is moving in."

A spokesman for the Revenue Service said all tax agents were taught electronic eavesdropping techniques at the Treasury Department's law enforcement school here. This is to allow them to defend against wiretapping, the spokesman said, and is not to be used to invade citizens' privacy.

[From the New York Herald Tribune, July 15, 1965]

PROBE TOLD IRS RUNS WIRETAP SCHOOL

WASHINGTON.—A Senate Judiciary Subcommittee was told yesterday that the Internal Revenue Service operates a school in Washington to teach wiretapping techniques to agents despite a regulation banning use of such methods.

Cresson O. Davis, chief of the intelligence division for IRS in Pittsburgh, said the school is operated only for defense.

"But it could be used for offense," replied Subcommittee Chairman Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri.

"It could," Mr. Davis said.

"It was," Senator Long replied.

"It was," Mr. Davis added.

The exchange took place after a noon recess in the subcommittee's hearing into the use of wiretapping devices by IRS agents in Pittsburgh, part of an overall probe of Government eavesdropping techniques.

Senator Long in the morning recalled IRS Commissioner Sheldon Cohen to the stand, but said later a misunderstanding over questions aimed at Mr. Davis had been cleared up in a telephone call to Mr. Cohen. He indicated a second appearance by Mr. Cohen would be unnecessary.

Mr. Cohen's reappearance had been ordered after Mr. Davis declined to pinpoint the locations of wiretaps in the Pittsburgh area or the names of persons whose telephones were tapped.

He said instructions from Mr. Cohen prevented him from doing this.

Mr. Cohen, the first witness at Tuesday's hearing, rejected repeated requests to turn over detailed records of wiretapping, two-way mirrors, and other tactics.

Mr. Davis described only in general terms two wiretap cases in Pittsburgh. He said in both instances he sent to Washington for equipment and wiretap experts.

Under repeated questioning by Senator Long, who noted an IRS regulation banning wiretapping, Mr. Davis said it is used only in extreme circumstances. The IRS, he added, has men trained in wiretapping.

"And still they had a regulation out not to wiretap," Senator Long said. "Who were they trying to fool?"

Mr. Davis said training in such matters is necessary because racketeers are using the same devices.

He said Washington headquarters has experts in wiretap placement, but when asked by Senator Long, why this service is avail-

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able when IRS regulations forbid wiretaps, he replied: "I don't think I can answer that."

[From the Chicago Tribune, July 15, 1965]
PROBERS LEARN SNOOPERS ARE ALSO GOOFERS—
BUGGING DRIVES THEM BUGA OVER TAXES
 (By William Moore)

WASHINGTON, July 14.—Spend the taxpayers' money for an electronics truck to catch them gypping on their income tax and what happens? Some color blind idiot paints it to look as if it belongs to the telephone company and everybody laughs and tells you it is the wrong shade. You have to get it painted all over again.

The taxpayers won every time today in the story told by the Internal Revenue hawk-shaws about their snooping with eavesdropping trucks, two-way mirrors, bugs, wiretaps, and electronic devices that can do everything except tell what you are thinking.

DO NOT WANT TO TALK

The snoopers told their story—reluctantly—to the Senate Subcommittee on Administrative Practices and Procedure, headed by Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri, in response to questions by Long and Bernard Fensterwald, subcommittee counsel.

Boss Snooper Cresson O. Davis, Chief of the Revenue Service's Pittsburgh Intelligence Division, balked at answering questions, on instructions, he said, from Revenue Commissioner Sheldon Cohen.

Long recessed the hearing and ordered Cohen to come up to explain. Cohen said he was busy, but instructed Davis to start talking. Davis did, when the hearing was resumed.

Long said he was sorry to put Davis "between the Devil and the deep blue sea." That is where Davis was, because Revenue Service regulations and the law forbid wiretapping and bugging. If he disclosed any Revenue secrets he was in for trouble with his bosses, who could punish him for that or for violating the regulations.

BUG COP'S HOME

And the committee was in no mood to condone the Government spying.

Davis didn't confine his snooping to his office, as he told the story, but had a bug installed in a cop's home so his agents could listen in on the policeman suspected of getting boodles that he did not report.

Nobody thought of running any wires to the bug, because the fellows who installed it were not telephone men, as their uniforms indicated, but revenue agents.

The agents finally made a wireless hookup, listened in and took the cop to court. He was acquitted.

The boys just couldn't do anything right. One of them conned a building manager into lending him a passkey to the office of an attorney. The agent had a duplicate made and sent other agents in to bug the office when the lawyer had gone home.

GET GABBLING REPORT

The lawyer was a thoughtful taxpayer, or a lousy one. He kept the air conditioning and the piped-in music going and all that came out was garbled.

The agent who had the key made went on a vacation without telling his pals where the key was, and they had a terrible time getting the bug out before someone else found it.

Things were always going wrong. The agents were watching a free spender at Las Vegas who was always gambling but never seemed to buy any chips. They never did catch him buying any and drew the conclusion that he owned the casino where he played.

When he got back to Pittsburgh he died before the Government could try to prosecute him. An agent went to the funeral, hoping to pick up some information, but it was a sad occasion and nobody talked about income tax cheating.

GRIM AND HILARIOUS

The agents installed a bug behind the service's official seal in their office in the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce building. This was to pick up trial conferences with their lawyers.

Long's committee found out about that. It also learned that a number of the agents had met to discuss the testimony they would give the committee.

The hearing was grim as it was hilarious. Davis conceded that the snooping he described was in violation of the revenue service regulations. He defended the practice, however, on the ground that it was intended to catch underworld tax cheats.

Davis admitted, nevertheless, that the agents could listen in on the private conversations of honest taxpayers, as well as crooks.

He said that altho he has been 5 years in the service in Pennsylvania, he did not know where tapping is illegal there until 1 month ago.

Davis said all he has to do when he wishes to eavesdrop is telephone Washington for equipment and experts to install it.

[From the New York Times, July 16, 1965]

JOHNSON ISSUES WIRETAPPING BAN—BACKS
SENATE INVESTIGATION OF THE REVENUE
SERVICE

(By Fred P. Graham)

WASHINGTON, July 15.—President Johnson has banned all wiretapping by Federal employees except that related to national security.

Even when the national security is involved any wiretap must be approved by the Attorney General, Presidential Press Secretary Sili D. Moyers said today at a White House briefing.

Mr. Moyers said the President feels the present Senate investigation into charges of electronic eavesdropping by Internal Revenue Service agents "is in the public interest."

The hearings by Senator Edward V. Long, Democrat, of Missouri, have produced evidence that some agents in the Pittsburgh area had used illegal wiretaps in the Government's drive on organized crime.

Senator Long announced today that the focus of the investigation would be shifted to the IRS office in Boston on Monday.

He said offices at Chicago, San Francisco, and Philadelphia would also be investigated.

PRESIDENT'S ORDERS

President Johnson issued strict orders to his Cabinet concerning his antiwiretapping policy shortly after he assumed office, Mr. Moyers said.

Several weeks ago the President made another "vigorous statement" on the subject at a Cabinet meeting, Mr. Moyers said.

SOURCE OF PROBLEM

However, the testimony at today's hearing indicated that the problem had not arisen from a lack of firm policy directives from above, but from racket-busting agents on the firing line who had ignored the many prohibitions against wiretapping that have been issued.

Sheldon S. Cohen, IRS Commissioner, said he had been forced to decentralize his agency's organized crime section activities to prevent unauthorized wiretapping.

Mr. Cohen said his hurried investigation into yesterday's disclosures before the subcommittee had confirmed the fact that H. Alan Long, Director of the Intelligence Division, and his Assistant Director, Robert A. Manzi, had some knowledge of the eavesdropping activities in Pittsburgh.

Mr. Cohen said he had changed IRS procedures to require all antiracketeering agents to report to their district directors, rather than directly to Mr. Long's office in Washington.

This will mean that any district director can be held responsible for wiretapping violations in his area, Mr. Cohen said.

ASSURANCES GIVEN

He assured Senator Long that no conversations between revenue agents and taxpayers would be recorded without their knowledge, except in cases of bribe overtures.

Following the Commissioner's testimony, William O. Marsh, a special revenue agent from Pittsburgh, testified that he had participated in wiretapping and that he "believed that there was implied authority to do this because of the equipment and instructions we had been given."

Special Agent Vernon Carpenter, of Pittsburgh, said he had also been involved in wiretapping and that he had been scheduled at one time to attend a special 3-week school on electronic techniques at IRS headquarters in Washington. For an unexplained reason, he did not attend.

Anthony M. Itony Grosso, a member operator in Pittsburgh, told the subcommittee he had been told by Pittsburgh police that the IRS had tapped his telephone wires.

He has been sentenced to 9 years' imprisonment on a Federal wagering tax violation, which is now on appeal.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS AND THE CREATION OF MULTISTATE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. President, as a member of the Senate Public Works Committee, I am a cosponsor and a strong advocate of passage of the Economic Development and Public Works Act of 1965, now pending in the House of Representatives, which authorizes the establishment of economic development regions and the creation of multistate regional development commissions to assist in the accelerated economic growth and development of such regions in America.

Under the report of the Senate Public Works Committee and after consultation with officials of the U.S. Department of Commerce, we feel assured that an Ozarka Regional Development Commission, including parts of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri, and contiguous areas, will be one of those such commissions immediately established upon final passage of the legislation.

Oklahoma has taken a giant step toward the creation of such a commission for our region by the recent passage of enrolled House Joint Resolution 533, authored by State Representatives Mountford, Blankenship, Rucker, Willis, Odum (V. H.), Skelth, Bynum, Witt, Frix, and Sparkman of the house, and State Senators Hamilton, Baldwin, Howard, Gee, Massey, Stipe, Taliaferro, Selman, Luton, Field, Smith, Nichols, Ham, Graves, Miller, Berry, Berrong, Dacus, Holden, Mas-sad, and Payne of the senate.

The joint resolution accepts in advance the invitation of the U.S. Secretary of Commerce for the establishment of an Ozarka Regional Development Commission.

It names the Oklahoma State highway director as Oklahoma's member of the commission.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of the resolution adopted by the Oklahoma Legislature be inserted in the Record at this point in my remarks.

By this action, the Oklahoma Legislature has shown that they and the people